

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

EDITED BY FREDERICK & EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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DEDICATION.

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK.

To those who take politics seriously not more than a short holiday from agitation is possible. Votes for Women will not be won except by those who place it in the forefront of their thought, and who refuse to allow anything to come between it and immediate victory.

While so many of us have been away on our holidays enjoying the fresh air and the pleasures of the country, every homage is due to those women who have faced with such free and strong hearts the confinement of the prison cell, the hardship of prison discipline. They will come out with a determination stronger than ever, to wrest from an obstinate Government the freedom of women which has been so long refused.

The Released Prisoners.

On next Saturday morning there will be released from Holloway Prison the two women who have been serving two months in the third division. Miss New and Mrs. Leigh are expected to come out about 8 o'clock, and will receive the hearty welcome of all friends of the movement. It is hoped that as many as possible will be at the prison gates to receive them on their release, and from there they will be driven to Queen's Hall, where a complimentary breakfast has been arranged, with Mrs. Pankhurst in the chair, and where the ex-prisoners will have the opportunity of again expressing their devotion to the women's cause, describing their experiences in prison, and of giving to their friends news of the other members who are still in Holloway.

Another Month in Holloway.

On the release of Miss New and Mrs. Leigh on Saturday there will still be five women in Holloway Gaol. These are serving the long sentence of three months' imprisonment for the technical offence of obstructing the police for the second time in the execution of their duty. Arrangements are already being made for giving a welcome to these prisoners when they come out of gaol on Wednesday, September 16. They will be met at the prison gates in the morning, will be driven down to Queen's Hall, and there a complimentary breakfast will be held. On the following day, September 17, in the evening, there will be a special reception in the large Portman Rooms, Baker-street, at which the prisoners will meet all the friends of the movement who are able to be present, and it is hoped that this occasion may be the opening of the Campaign for the autumn months of the current year.

The "At Homes."

Meanwhile, however, the series of "At Homes," which have proved so useful for introducing new friends and enabling everyone to get in touch with the progress of the Campaign, will have already commenced. On Thursday, September 3, the first of the Thursday evening "At Homes" will be held, and old friends will meet again in the small Portman Rooms, Dorset-street, at 8 o'clock. On the following Monday will be held the first of the Monday afternoon "At Homes." During September these will be held in the large Portman Rooms, Baker-street, the time being 3 o'clock, as has been the case at all the recent "At Homes."

Meetings and Demonstrations.

In the provinces there is already being arranged a series of demonstrations and great meetings, beginning with a demonstration at Rawtenstall on September 6. On

September 19 will be held the first of the autumn demonstrations in Bristol. This will take place on Durdham Downs, and among the speakers will be Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Annie Kenney, Mrs. Martel, and Miss Mary Gawthorpe.

On September 27 there will be held a demonstration in Huddersfield, when there will be a large number of platforms.

Among the indoor meetings it has already been arranged to have a meeting in St. George's Hall, Bradford, on October 26, and one in the great Colston Hall, at Bristol, on November 20, and other meetings are being arranged in Nottingham, Leeds, and Manchester. There is also to be a great meeting in the Albert Hall on October 29, when the autumn work of the Union will be at its height.

Holiday Activity.

During the holiday season the women have not been wholly inactive, and an interesting new development was a special meeting held in Boulter's Lock last Sunday, which proved very attractive to the visitors on the river. Miss Higgins and Miss Jessie Kenney both spoke and made an impression, the audience cheering and expressing their approval in many ways. There have also been a number of meetings held at the seaside. These have attracted the friendly interest of the people. With the return of autumn this friendly interest must be converted into active support.

AN ECHO OF HAGGERSTON.

The following leading article in the *Hereford Times* of August 8 will be of interest to our readers:—

A three-cornered fight is always unsatisfactory. It leads to a sort of political blind alley. So far as the Conservatives were united they deserved to win—so far as the Liberals were divided they reaped as they had sown. The poll was small and apathetic. Not 70 per cent. of the whole constituency came to the scratch; and the big majority was largely owing to the work and influence of the Suffragettes. This is the ninth Liberal defeat inflicted by the Liberal Mrs. Pankhurst. As in South Herefordshire, her speeches and tactics won hundreds of votes. We have watched every step in the campaign, and claim to be absolutely impartial witnesses, because, while we are heart and mind in favour of Woman Suffrage, we would never vote against a Liberal and Free Trade Government under any conceivable circumstances. It is stated that Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Drummond are confident—and we share their confidence—that the work of the Women's Social and Political Union was in no small measure accountable for the result. Mrs. Drummond, who has been described as a "general in the Suffragist army," informed a representative of the *Daily Telegraph* that Mr. Warren had been twice to their committee-room, and explained that he was a member of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage. "That," said Mrs. Drummond, "would not do for us. The members of that league are mostly Liberals who will not do anything against the Government. Liberal canvassers have been going round Haggerston saying that Mr. Asquith had offered a Bill to give a vote to all women, and that we had refused it. We had to work that story down, but that was an easy task, for we had an army of workers. Our work has been systematic, regular, and strong. I felt we had done great things. When we started our meetings we were howled down, but after we explained our objects we had splendid audiences, and towards the end met with no interruptions. We have had a good many small subscriptions of shillings and sixpences for our war-chest, and three women came together to hand us their mites of one penny each. One man came to me and said, 'I have been a Liberal all my days, but I shall not vote for a Government which imprisons women because they agitate for a vote. That is a disgraceful thing in liberty-loving England. Tell me, missus, what to do to help your cause, and I'll go to gaol myself.'"

N.W.S.P.U. ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Released Prisoners.

The release on Saturday 22 of Miss New and Mrs. Leigh, who were sentenced to two months' imprisonment in the third division on July 1, is an occasion for as many friends and sympathisers as possible to show their appreciation by meeting them at Holloway gates and afterwards at Queen's Hall, where a complimentary breakfast will take place. It is expected that they will be released at about 8 a.m., and brakes will convey them to Queen's Hall, arriving at 9.15. The cost of brake tickets is 9d. each; breakfast tickets 3s. each, to be obtained from the Ticket Secretary, N.W.S.P.U., 4 Clements Inn, W.C. Mrs. Pankhurst will be in the chair, and speeches will be delivered by the ex-prisoners and others.

Those sentenced to three months' imprisonment will remain in Holloway until September 16, when there will be a complimentary breakfast at Queen's Hall, tickets 2s. each, and on the 17th, in place of the ordinary weekly "At Home" in the Small Hall, Portman Rooms, there will be a reception in the Large Hall.

The "At Homes."

As already announced in this column, no "At Homes" are being held during the month of August, but they will be resumed in September in the Portman Rooms. On September 3, the first of the "At Homes" will be held on Thursday evening, in the Portman Rooms, Dorset-street, from 8 to 10, and a similar "At Home" will be held every Thursday evening, and on September 7 and on each succeeding Monday afternoon "At Homes" will be held in Portman Rooms, Baker-street, from 3 to 5.

During the last three months of the year, the Monday "At Homes" will again be held at Queen's Hall.

The Demonstrations.

The next demonstration to take place will be at Rawtenstall on Sunday, September 6. This will be followed on Saturday, September 19, by a special demonstration on Durdham Downs, Clifton (Bristol), and on Sunday, September 27, there will be a similar demonstration at Huddersfield. Additional workers are much needed, and anyone willing to help should communicate with the local organisers, or with Miss Christabel Pankhurst, 4, Clements Inn, without delay.

Albert Hall Meeting.

Arrangements are being actively made for the autumn campaign of the National Women's Social and Political Union. A great meeting is to be held in the Albert Hall, on Thursday, October 29. Mrs. Pankhurst will be in the chair, and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and Miss Mary Gawthorpe will address the meeting. Tickets are already on sale:—Amphitheatre stalls, 5s.; arena, 2s. 6d.; balcony and orchestra, 1s.; gallery and upper orchestra (unnumbered), 6d.; and boxes at various prices, can be obtained from the Ticket Secretary, National W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C. Application should be made early for tickets. Friends who are going away for their summer holidays are recommended to buy tickets before they go away, and are also urged to take tickets with them to sell to those whom they are likely to meet on their holidays.

Newspaper Committee.

A special committee has been formed at 4, Clements Inn, to promote the sale of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

The committee meets every Tuesday at 3 o'clock for the purpose of reporting progress and discussing future plans. Miss Vera Holme is acting as secretary. The work of the committee consists in organising the street sale of the paper by members of the Union; inducing newsagents to stock the paper and show the contents bill; arranging for the sale of the paper at public meetings; carrying out various schemes of advertisement.

Those willing to help the VOTES FOR WOMEN committee are urged to communicate with Miss Vera Holme. Work can be found for ladies who call at the office any morning in the week at 11 o'clock.

THE HISTORY OF THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

By SYLVIA PANKHURST. XXI.—*The Women's Franchise League Formed.*

An event which did much to revive for a time the flagging energies of the women suffragists, and for a brief period brought the question of votes for women right into the forefront of public interest, was the protest—the first that women had made against the suffrage during the whole history of the movement—signed by 106 women, which appeared in the *Nineteenth Century Review* for June, 1889. It ran as follows:—

The undersigned strongly protest against the proposed extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women, which they believe would be a measure distasteful to the great majority of women of the country—unnecessary—and mischievous both to themselves and to the State.

The suffrage societies at once organised a counter-declaration which in less than a fortnight had been signed by more than 2,000 women. From the entire list 600 names were selected, and space was found for them, together with a copy of the declaration, in the July number of the *Fortnightly Review*. These names were carefully classified and divided into ten different groups. In the educational group the name of nearly every pioneer of the movement for the higher education of women was to be found, together with those of the heads of all the principal women's schools and colleges and of a long array of women-graduates. A large proportion of the women who had been elected as Guardians of the Poor and members of school boards appeared in the official group. The ecclesiastical group included among others the wives of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and of the Bishops of London and Carlisle. In July, 1889, the Women's Franchise League was formed by some of the oldest workers in the woman's suffrage movement. The objects of the League were:—

1. To extend to women, whether unmarried, married, or widowed the right to vote at Parliamentary, municipal, local, and other elections on the same conditions which qualify men.

2. To establish for all women equal civil and political rights with men.

At the inaugural meeting on July 25 the chair was taken by Mrs. McIlquham, P.L.G., and the speakers included Mrs. Alice Cliff Scatcherd, Dr. Pankhurst, Mrs. Stanton Blatch, William Lloyd Garrison (the great anti-slavery champion), and Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy. In pursuance of the objects for which it had been formed the Women's Franchise League now sought to get certain measures laid before Parliament. These were Bills to extend the Parliamentary and local franchises to all duly qualified women, whether married or unmarried; the Divorce Amendment Bill, which proposed to assimilate the unequal law of England in regard to divorce with the law of Scotland, which is the same for both men and women; and the Devolution of Estates Bill, which was designed to remedy the flagrant injustices suffered by women under the law of intestacy.

The first of these measures, called the Women's Disabilities Removal Bill, was the one that had been originally drafted by Dr. Pankhurst, and first introduced by Mr. Jacob Bright in 1870. But in view of the then agitation to make marriage a disqualification, the final clause was redrafted in order to make its meaning clearer. For the phrase "any law or custom to the contrary notwithstanding," the words "No woman shall be subject to legal incapacity from voting at such elections by reason of coverture" were substituted.

On being approached by the committee of the Women's Franchise League, Mr. R. B. Haldane (the present Secretary of State for War) agreed to introduce this Bill

on condition that he might be allowed to somewhat broaden its scope, as it did not go quite far enough for him. This was agreed to, and Mr. Haldane thereupon added a further clause providing that no person should be disqualified from being elected to, or from holding, any office or position merely by reason of being a woman, whether married or unmarried.

The Women's Disabilities Removal Bill had now become exceedingly broad and comprehensive in character—rather too much so, indeed, for practical politics, as Mr. Haldane himself seems to have thought; for though he had readily introduced the Bill which was now so largely of his own making, he made no attempt to ballot for it, and when the Franchise League Committee urged that some further steps should be taken to get the measure carried into law, he assured them that the Bill was excellent as a declaration of principle, but that no one must expect it to go any further.

In the ballot for private members' Bills at the beginning of the session of 1890, no place was secured for a women's suffrage measure, though there were now no less than 365 professed supporters in the House.

Owing to changes in procedure rules and the increase in the number of questions balloted for, it was now very much more difficult than it had formerly been to secure a place for any particular Bill. Where other questions were concerned, however, it had become customary for a large number of members to ballot for places for the same measure. Few questions had so many professed supporters in the House as Women's Suffrage, and had its so-called friends been really earnest in their desire to secure a vote on the second reading, there is no doubt that, by combined effort in this direction, a day would have been won.

No place having been obtained for a Bill, it was decided to ballot for a resolution. Mr. M'Laren secured a place on March 4, but the day was eventually taken by the Government for the debate on the Parnell Commission.

Conflicting Interests.

Mr. M'Laren then put the resolution down for Friday, April 25, when it was to follow that of Mr. Provan on raisins, currants, and dried fruits. The chance of a division upon the Women's Suffrage resolution appeared at first to be very remote, for according to the rules of the House, only one vote could be taken on Friday evenings. But when the Budget was introduced, it was found to deal with the question of currants, and it was therefore thought that Mr. Provan's resolution would be withdrawn, and that the way would thus be left clear for a vote to be taken upon Women's Suffrage. This was prevented by an unworthy subterfuge. Mr. M'Laren was led to believe that the currants resolution would be proceeded with, and he therefore reluctantly withdrew his own resolution. No sooner had this been done than Mr. Provan's resolution on currants was also withdrawn.

First places for resolutions were soon afterwards obtained by Mr. Caleb Wright and Baron Dimsdale for June 3 and June 4 respectively. But Mr. W. H. Smith moved to take all Tuesdays and Fridays after the Whitsuntide recess for Government business. An amendment to except Tuesday, June 3, so that Mr. Caleb Wright's resolution might come on, was opposed by the Conservative Government, and defeated by 145 to 32.

(To be continued.)

THE A. B. C. OF VOTES FOR WOMEN.

A SPEECH DELIVERED BY MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE AT THE QUEEN'S HALL "AT HOME," JULY 6, 1908.

Many people have come here to-day who have not been to any of our meetings before. They have come, not because they are prepared to support everything that we do in this movement, but because their attention has been arrested; they have come because they have begun to be interested, and they want to know what it really is that we women are striving for and fighting for with so much energy, and, as they are beginning to feel, at the cost of so much suffering and pain.

There is nothing more extraordinary than the way in which people come right round to this question after a very little explanation. Last Monday, when I was going home from this "At Home," a lady got into the 'bus. She noticed my badge, and I saw her put up her glasses and look very curiously. She was reading the motto. Then she said, "'Votes for Women'—how funny!"

I began to talk to her, and she said, "Yes, well, I do not see why they should not have the vote. I do not see why women who pay taxes should not have a vote."

She happened to have a big country house, as well as a London residence. She said, "My gardener and my coachman have a vote. I do not see why we should not have a vote; but, of course, I do not agree with those terrible women—these extremists. Do you?"

Once more I had to say, "Madam, I am afraid you are talking to one of those dreadful women."

"Oh," she said, "I should like to know a little bit more about it."

She handed me her card, and she asked me to send her some literature and all information about the movement. I think she is here to-day, though I have not seen her yet, and so we have found a new friend and a new supporter of our movement.

Women and Magna Carta.

That is why we are so glad to welcome all strangers, all new friends here. Now you will want to know what is it that these extremists, these terrible people, are asking for. I will tell you. They are asking that women who pay rates and taxes just like the men do shall have the same right of citizenship that men have. They are not asking for anything very revolutionary, they are not asking for anything very extreme; they are asking for something which is essentially constitutional, because it is one of the fundamental principles of the Constitution of this country that taxation and representation shall go together. You may think that that is only a Liberal principle, but it is not only a Liberal principle; it is just as much a Conservative principle as a Liberal principle. It is a very old principle, and it was fought for many hundreds of years ago. You all know when that principle was vindicated in British history. It was vindicated when the Barons forced King John to sign the Magna Carta in 1216, and ever since 1216 it has been a recognised axiom of the British Constitution that those who pay to the revenues of the Crown shall have a voice in saying how those revenues are to be spent.

But perhaps you who do not know exactly the history of this movement will say to me, "Oh, yes, but—that was only a principle as far as men were concerned; women did not get the vote on the same terms as men in 1216." My friends, that is just where you make your mistake. They *did* get it. There was no sex distinction. When the Barons forced King John to sign Magna Carta, women got exactly the same constitutional rights as men, and on the same terms. You know that our Constitution in those days was written in the Latin tongue, and you know that in the Latin tongue there is a word that stands for "man," there is a word that stands for "woman," and there is also a word—as there ought to be in every language—which stands for the fully developed human being, whether male or female, and that is the word "homo," and by Magna Carta "hominal rights" were secured to all landowners or freeholders—words in which there is no idea of sex—all who pay towards the revenues of the Crown. And so, not only are we not asking for anything extreme, but we are not asking for anything new or revolutionary; we are only asking for an old right long enjoyed by the women of the country, and taken away from them by a legal quibble

only a few years ago, and now to be restored to the womanhood of the country.

Now, friends, have I convinced you that we are asking for nothing extreme, that we are asking for nothing that is not moderate, because I want you to get that well into your heads. We are asking—people talk about unconstitutional methods—we are asking for the most constitutional reform that you can possibly imagine, and we have been asking for it for over 50 years without avail, and now we are determined to have it. That is all. We are not asking for any alteration of the franchise laws. Please understand that. The franchise laws have not been made by women; they have been made by men, they have been made by men in what is considered by the majority of the people to be the interest of the country at large. As they have been made, so we accept them. We do not ask for any alteration in the franchise—that is not our demand at all; we only ask that where women are qualified by every rule which qualifies men there should not be any sex disability.

People say, "But we cannot have the rule of women in this country." We are not asking for that. There are seven and a-half millions of male voters. If the names of all the women who would be qualified if they were men—whether as owners, householders, lodgers, or by the service or university franchise—were placed on the Parliamentary Register—and that is the extent of our demand—there would be about a million and a-quarter women added to the seven and a-half millions of men voters. So you see, all we are asking for is one vote in six of the total voting strength in the country.

One Vote in Six.

It may seem to you that one vote in six is so small that it will not do the women of the country very much good, that it is not worth making all this fuss about, but I can tell you that one vote in six is a very great deal better than not a single vote for the women. We should be quite content with one vote in six, for that is what we are asking for.

The Liberal Government, curiously enough, objects to carrying what we ask, because they say that we are not asking enough. Well, if we are not asking enough, they can at least give us what we are asking for, and be thankful that we are not wanting any more. If they want to give us more, there is nothing at all to prevent them. If they want to first take away the disability of sex, and then lower the franchise laws, there is nothing to prevent them. We have not expressed any opinion as to whether the franchise should be lowered or not. That is not our purpose, that is not the aim and object of this movement. The aim and object of this movement is to do away with the disability of sex.

Why is it so important that this disability should be removed? It is important because no class and no sex which is absolutely and entirely without any representation in the country can get their interests attended to or can get any reform which they want to bring about. Just take one instance. Let us take, for example, this terrible evil of sweated trades which you know are filled by women. It is women who do the sweated work. They tell you that women must not go into Parliament. We are not asking that they shall go into Parliament; that is not part of our demand. But they tell you that they must not go into Parliament, or they must not vote, because they are not physically fit. Women are considered physically fit to do the hardest work of the world, and the worst paid work in the world.

A few years ago, in another part of this building, there was held what was called the Sweating Exhibition. I was a member of the committee, and I was a constant visitor here, and though I thought I knew most of what there was to know about the condition of the industrial women in this great city of London, I found that I had yet something to learn of the depths of misery in which they live. In that Sweating Exhibition we saw women doing skilled work for a penny an hour. We saw women lining those expensive motor-coats with costly fur, coats which when sold will fetch 70, or 80, or 90 guineas, and though that work was difficult and technically very skilled, they were only getting a penny an hour for it. There were women doing beaded embroidery on ball shoes. They were

working on these shoes without any design to go by, their design was made and carried out by themselves. It was artistic work, skilled work, and they were getting a penny an hour for the work. (Cries of "Shame.")

Everybody in this country cried what you have just cried. They all cried "Shame," and everybody said, "We must have legislation to deal with this evil." Now, what have you got in Parliament? You have got an Eight Hours Bill for miners, but no attempt to deal with the sweated industries, which are the industries in which women work. Miners, because they are strong, because they are already well organised, but most of all, because they have votes and they have representation in Parliament, miners can get their working day reduced, they can get a Bill in Parliament, because, you see, they say to the Government, "If you don't bring in a Bill for an eight hours' day for miners, the miners will all vote for the Labour Party," and so the Government bring in a Bill.

Women's Interests Do Not Count.

There is more feeling in this country about sweated work, a great deal more feeling, than there is about an eight hours' day for miners; but, because there is no pressure, because there are no votes for women, because women's interests do not count with the legislators of the country, and in the nature of things cannot count, therefore you get this evil left to accumulate, and to grow worse year after year. Women need the vote in order that they may improve their industrial position.

We have it on the best authority, we have it on the authority of an economist like Mr. Sydney Webb, that since men got the vote the wages of men have gone up 50 per cent. What about the wages of women? The wages of women have not remained stationary, but they have gone down, while the wages of men have been going up, and I was told by an investigator of the Women's Industrial Council the other day that in not one single case of all the women whose cases she had investigated were the women getting as much to-day as they were earning ten years ago in the same trade.

You may say that votes have nothing to do with wages. Well, I can prove to you they have. Take the Government itself, the model employer of labour. The Government employs as many women as men, in fact, more women than men in very many branches of industry. In the teaching profession you have got more women than men, and here you have people who have to spend just the same number of years in the college, who have to spend just the same amount of money on their training, who have to present the same certificates, with this exception, that women present all certificates that men present, and two more, they have to present a Kindergarten certificate and they have to present a certificate for needlework and sewing. Not only that, but women are considered better disciplinarians and allowed to have more children in their classes than men. They work the same number of hours, and they do exactly the same duties—only, as you see, if there is any difference, it is the women that score in this particular profession—and yet how are they paid? You find it laid down in the Government Schedule that every little girl of 14 when she begins as pupil teacher gets 4s. a week, and every little boy of 14 who does the same work gets 7s. 6d., because the girl is a little girl, and the boy gets nearly twice as much because he is a little boy, and that goes on right through all the grades until you come to the headmistress and the headmaster; and the headmistress is receiving—however brilliant or clever she may be—she is receiving considerably less than the headmaster.

It is not only the school teacher; take the Post Office clerk, take the sanitary inspectors, take the warders and wardresses in the prisons, take every kind of Government employment. There are men and women doing the same work, but the women are getting considerably less pay. Do you mean to tell me that a Government dependent upon the votes of women would not bring in equal pay for equal work? You know

perfectly well it would. You know, too, if you know anything about this movement, that it did. In Wyoming, in America, where the women have votes, the Legislature has brought in equal pay for men and women teachers. In Norway, since the women got votes last year, they have already won equal pay for equal work between men and women in the employ of the Post Office. And equal pay in the Government employment means raising the standard of pay throughout the country, and bringing in gradually a principle of equal reward for equal merit.

Now, friends, I have one last word. The women of this country are profoundly dissatisfied with their position to-day. I do not refer to those privileged women, those comparatively few women who have never known what it is to face life for themselves, who have never known what it is to do a day's work or to have any human beings dependent upon their life and their strength. They may be satisfied. They ought not to be satisfied, because, morally, they are in a very humiliating position. It is as bad to be mentally and morally subjected as it is to be physically and economically subjected, and if they had a bit of noble blood in their veins, if their breeding had not been lowered by generations of this subjection, they could not feel satisfied. Therefore, they do not know, they do not understand the moral idea of freedom, and because they are not pressed by the economic and the physical sorrows of life, they have no understanding of this movement.

Women Profoundly Dissatisfied.

But the great majority of women in this country are profoundly dissatisfied. They are so dissatisfied with their political, with their social, with their economic condition, with their mental and with their moral subjection, that they are determined to put through this movement for the enfranchisement of their sex, cost what it may. That is the meaning of the Demonstration on Tuesday, June 30, outside the House of Commons. It means this, and the world is only just beginning to realise it. It means that the leaders of this movement, when they began, did not take this matter up as a fad, they did not take it up as a plaything to fill an empty life. They took it up with the full realisation of what the thing means, of its issues so deep, so broad, so high, and so worldwide.

When they set out to do this task, they solemnly dedicated themselves to save the womanhood of this country. They put their all upon this great stake. That is what last Tuesday means. It takes life to buy redemption. It costs soul and body in order to redeem those that are lost. We know this principle. We recognise it as the great rule of life, and we are ready. We are ready to obey the call that comes to us. We will do it as need arises. We have got more, and more, and more to give, until the day comes, when, speaking from a human point of view, there is no more to give. We give our money, we give our leisure, we give our service, we give every faculty of mind and body with which we have been endowed, we will give our life piecemeal, or we will give it whole, as the need or the occasion may arise.

Friends, do not make any mistake. We are going to see this thing through. It may seem to some of you that we have attempted an almost impossible task. Asquith may seem strong, the Government of the day may seem strong, the force of police, or of military, if you like, may seem strong, the prejudice that is against us, and all the forces that are fighting us may seem strong, but I tell you there is something stronger than all. Truth is stronger—when Truth has been allied to human resolution and to human will. Truth as an abstract force cannot do much to move this world, but truth, when it is incarnated, truth, when it is embodied in human form, and linked with human will, is irresistible. We believe in that, we bank on that, and sure and certain of victory we can go forward.

WOMEN POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE BASTILLE AND IN HOLLOWAY.

A CONTRAST.—By AN HISTORICAL STUDENT.

In an article in the *Nineteenth Century* for this month, Mrs. Frederic Harrison (an anti-Suffragist lady, by the way) exults in the destruction of the old French State prison, the Bastille, and amuses herself by imagining what the Tower of London would be like if it were now used for the purposes for which the Bastille was employed. There would, she tells us, be there delegates from all the principal Suffrage societies (Suffragettes convulsionnaires). The truth is that if the Tower could be so altered for their benefit, the delegates of some Suffrage societies would find it an agreeable change from Holloway. Mrs. Frederic Harrison, like Viscount Morley, has nothing too bad to say of the wickedness of the old Government of France that built a Bastille for its political prisoners. Dead tyrannies, as Burke has remarked, have no friends. The fact remains, however, that the Government of which Lord Morley is a member has given to its women political prisoners far harsher prison treatment in Holloway than was meted out to the female political captives of one of the worst governments of old France in the Bastille. This is proved by treatment that a woman political prisoner actually received in that fortress in the 18th century. Mademoiselle de Launay (or Madame de Staal de Launay, as she was known after her marriage, which followed her captivity) was a Suffragette before her time. A maid of honour to the Duchess of Maine, she was implicated with her mistress and other influential people of her time in a conspiracy to bring about the overthrow of the government of the Regent D'Orleans and the summoning of the States General (the old Parliament of France), a scheme to be carried out by the introduction of Spanish troops into France. When the conspiracy was discovered, Mademoiselle de Launay added to her offences by her brave refusal to give any evidence against the Duchess, and by the fact that she had destroyed many incriminating papers.

No Solitary Confinement.

So to the Bastille she was sent. The story of her captivity she has written in excellent French, and it may also be read in an English translation. It is a tale of thrilling interest, and contains a love story; but I can only touch on it so far as may be necessary to contrast her lot with the fate of the Holloway Suffragettes. In the first place, be it noted, she was never subjected to solitary confinement, as she was allowed the companionship of her maid, who voluntarily endured her mistress's captivity. There were in her cell, she says, "a small bed, tolerably clean, an arm-chair [let the Holloway prisoners think of that], two other chairs—and a sort of pallet for Rondel (the maid) to sleep upon." The first night she had to wait for her supper until eleven, on other nights it was served at six. She says nothing about her food; but we know from other accounts that Bastille prisoners had here nothing to complain of, as they were even supplied with wine. As for exercise, after a short period of close captivity Mademoiselle was allowed to walk around the battlements of the fortress, and she was accompanied by the Royal Lieutenant of the Bastille, an old cavalry officer who was always kind and courteous

to her. As time passed her captivity grew easier. Her friends were allowed to supply her with money, and she made her cell comfortable. From the first the Bastille authorities allowed her cards and books, and she spent much of her time playing picquet with her maid. She was by no means cut off from all association with her fellow-captives. One evening the Royal Lieutenant of the Bastille took supper with Mademoiselle. Let the story be finished in her own words: "On rising from table, as it was extremely hot, we went to the window. The Lieutenant asked me to sing. I began a scene from the opera of 'Iphigenia.' The Duke de Richelieu, who was also at his window, sang the reply of Orestes in this scene which was appropriate to our situation. The Lieutenant, thinking it amused me, allowed us to finish the whole scene." Later on certain of the prisoners were allowed to associate in groups and have their meals together. Mademoiselle de Launay was advised to ask the Government for the same favour, but she had the heart of a Suffragette, and she refused. "It seemed to me," she observed, "that the best part to play was that of entire inaction. It was all I could do to accept favours of the hand that bound me in chains, but I considered it as base to ask for them." In the end she was allowed this privilege. With some of her fellow-captives she was permitted to dine at the Governor's house, and to play with them afterwards at—that old game of cards—ombre. "The company," she adds, "assembled in my room before supper, for which we retired to the Governor's, and that over we all went to bed."

Unfailing Courtesy.

It is interesting to note, too, the courteous way in which Mademoiselle de Launay was treated with regard to medical advice. "I had," she says, "an indisposition for which I was to see Monsieur Herment, the physician of the Bastille. The King's Lieutenant introduced him to me in the garden in which we were walking. Although I was at that time under the closest guard our Lieutenant was always willing to relax it in my favour on the smallest pretext that warranted his doing so. 'There must be no third person in a conversation with a doctor,' said he, as he left us."

Her account of the Bastille chapel and chaplain has a similar interest. On the day of the commencement of her captivity her maid remarked to her that they would see all their fellow-prisoners in chapel. The anticipation was not realised. "It was a distinction conferred on me," she says, "that I was taken to hear mass on festivals and Sundays, and I made no progress in the discoveries that I wished to make, for I was hidden beneath a flag, where I could neither see nor be seen." She has a kind word for the chaplain. "When Easter came she desired to make her confession, and asked if she might be allowed a confessor of her own choice. 'The answer,' she continues, "was in the negative, and I was told that I must be satisfied with the domestic chaplain or not confess at all. I regarded all the officials with so much suspicion that I was tempted to defer this duty to a more convenient opportunity." In the end, however, she decided to make her confession. "Never," she adds, "was suspicion more unjust than I had felt for our chaplain. I found him the best of men, simple and compassionate, more inclined to pity my misfortunes than to reprove me for my errors."

It must not be thought that these courtesies were only the kind acts of the Bastille authorities. The Government were carefully informed of the conduct and treatment of these prisoners, and authorised everything that was done. Indeed, M. D'Argenson, one of the Ministers of the day, who came to the Bastille to examine Mademoiselle de Launay, asked her if she was well treated, and intimated that such was his desire. Fancy Mr. Herbert Gladstone at Holloway putting such a question to a Suffragette!

The system of government known as the *ancien régime* was no doubt an evil one. It doubtless deserves all the abuse that writers like Lord Morley have heaped upon it. Yet the historian of the future will note the curious fact that some of its worst statesmen treated their women political prisoners with a humanity and courtesy which the Government of which Lord Morley is a member has not displayed to certain women political captives, far less dangerous to the State than was Mademoiselle de Launay.

I may add that those of my readers who desire to know more of Mademoiselle de Launay will find her life written by herself in the first volume of Barrière's series of French Memoirs. There is also an abridged English translation published by Bentley in 1876. Both may be obtained at any good library.

OUR POST BOX. THE CASE OF DAISY LORD.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—In the July 22 number of VOTES FOR WOMEN a brief reference was made to the case of Daisy Lord, the young woman, twenty-two years of age, who was sentenced to death at the Guildford Assizes for the murder of her newly-born child, and to those who read the account, probably with a thrill of pity and sympathy, the girl was but a name, but to me she became a distinct personality, for memory took up the chain of association, link by link, and carried me back to the time, in March last, when I was a prisoner in Holloway, lying ill with influenza in the infirmary.

I saw again there a young woman, in the blue dress worn by prisoners on remand, scrubbing the floor of my cell in the early morning, and I heard her again, moved by some strange impulse, pour out to me the story of her life. Daisy Lord told me of the false step she had taken that had brought her so much trouble and distress, and expressed her repentance and a desire, if she ever got the chance, to turn over a new leaf and lead a better life. She said that she went through her confinement alone, and then she fainted, and when she came to herself found the child cold and stiff, with a string round its neck. She told me then, five weeks after the event, that she did not know why she had done it; but at the time she declared that it was a deliberate act, because she did not wish the child to grow up to know the trouble she had done.

It appears that she got up the following morning, made the tea for her landlady, and walked two miles to her work at a laundry, where she remained till four o'clock in the afternoon, when she was arrested, thus displaying an iron nerve and strong physique, which her manner and appearance denoted in my opinion. She was, I felt sure, no vicious girl, but somewhat rough and hard from contact with a world that had dealt none too gently with one who was handicapped from the start by being an illegitimate child, but who had worked for her living since leaving school. I knew that the case was remanded till July, and as I did not for a moment anticipate that it would receive the death sentence, the details faded from my mind, until they were revived again with added intensity by the brief notice in VOTES FOR WOMEN.

At this point I should like to draw attention to what being "on remand" really means, and emphasise the fact that an accused person, who may be proved to be innocent eventually, is kept in prison for months at a time performing hard and menial tasks, and enduring ceaseless mental anxiety and awful suspense, unrelieved by any break in the monotony and misery of prison existence.

After five months of this ordeal, dragged out day by day and hour by hour, on July 20 Daisy Lord came up for trial; the jury passed a verdict of "Murder," with a strong recommendation to mercy, and the judge pronounced the dread decree that she should be "hanged

by the neck till she was dead, and her body buried in the precincts of the prison." I am informed that throughout the trial and the passing of the sentence the girl's strong nerve did not desert her, but when she was removed from the dock she broke down, and her cries made the blood of those who heard her run cold. She was then removed to the condemned cell in Holloway, and, as far as her own efforts were concerned, was cut off finally and completely from the world.

Every morning during the time that elapsed before the sentence was reprieved she was taken, a solitary prisoner in charge of a wardress, to a gallery in the chapel, and there, hidden behind a scarlet screen (the symbol of blood and guilt) she listened to the prayers and the hymns, while the hundreds of other prisoners gazed at the unaccustomed patch of red, and shuddered at its gruesome significance. It is said that public opinion is always in advance of the law of the land, and humane sentiment will not tolerate much longer the carrying out of such barbarous regulations.

When I hurried up to London to see what I could do in the way of petitioning for a reprieve, I called at the Home Office and was informed by a clerk that Daisy Lord's sentence had been respited to one of penal servitude for life.

I am going to ask every member of this Union, not relaxing their efforts to obtain the vote for one moment, still to spare a thought for this unhappy girl and to do what they can to help her. A petition for a reduction of the sentence is being prepared, and particulars of where it can be signed will be given later.

Yours, &c.,

EDITH KERWOOD.

Watling House, Barnt Green, near Birmingham.

HOLIDAY WORK.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—I am just home from a fortnight's holiday, ten days of which I have spent in endeavouring to help on VOTES FOR WOMEN. I have had a most instructive and entertaining time, and my object in writing this is to urge my fellow-members to do the same. Let no woman think she cannot be of any use. One of the things I have learnt is that every woman is wanted in our cause. Some may wonder what they can do; selling VOTES FOR WOMEN is just a sample. I think that the women who have been the means of getting Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's and Miss Christabel Pankhurst's soul-stirring articles into so many hands, have reason to be proud of themselves.

The compensations of having given oneself to the cause are many, amongst them being the consciousness of feeling that one has been of some real use even in holiday time.

Yours, &c.,

M. S. TURNER.

50, Preston-street, Brighton.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—I think you may like to know that we had a splendid meeting here last night in Castle-square of the townspeople and visitors. Since Mrs. Pankhurst's meeting here during the Pembroke-shire by-election Tenby is keenly alive to the question of votes for women, and everyone welcomed another meeting. The audience listened most attentively for nearly an hour, and at the close of the meeting we sold literature, badges, buttons, and 60 copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN. Castle-square is close to the harbour, and many of the fishermen were present, and showed their interest by buying badges for their wives and copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Yours, &c.,

ISABEL LOGAN.

Worcester House, Tenby, August 16.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—Will this 6d. be any good; it is all I have now of my own. With congratulations to all the W.S.P.U., especially Christabel Pankhurst,

Yours, &c.,

MARTIN G. BRETHERTON.
(Age, 7 years 5 months.)

Sutton Lodge, Sutton-avenue, Seaford.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—I wish to be identified with the women's cause. I feel that I could make almost any sacrifice, and for that purpose only wish I were a millionaire, so that I might push you on to greater success, though I must say the W.S.P.U. have done marvels during the last few years, more than all women's societies have hitherto done in the past 50 years, with all their lady-like and constitutional decorum.

Yours, &c.,

E. G. TAYLOR.

32, Ackers-street, Chorlton-on-Medlock.

The National Women's Social & Political Union.

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Constitution.

OBJECTS.—To secure for women the Parliamentary vote as it is or may be granted to men; to use the power thus obtained to establish equality of rights and opportunities between the sexes, and to promote the social and industrial well-being of the community.

METHODS.—The objects of the Union shall be promoted by—

1. Action entirely independent of all political parties.
2. Opposition to whatever Government is in power until such time as the franchise is granted.
3. Participation in Parliamentary Elections in opposition to the Government candidate, and independently of all other candidates.
4. Vigorous agitation upon lines justified by the position of outlawry to which women are at present condemned.
5. The organising of women all over the country to enable them to give adequate expression to their desire for political freedom.
6. Education of public opinion by all the usual methods, such as public meetings, demonstrations, debates, distribution of literature, newspaper correspondence, and deputations to public representatives.

MEMBERSHIP.—Women of all shades of political opinion who approve the objects and methods of the Union, and who are prepared to act independently of party, are eligible for membership. It must be clearly understood that no member of the Union shall support the candidate of any political party in Parliamentary elections until women have obtained the parliamentary vote.

The Women's Social and Political Union are asking for votes for women on the same terms as they are possessed by men.

They are not asking for the vote for every woman, but that a woman shall not be refused a vote simply because she is a woman.

The Women's Social and Political Union claim that a simple measure, giving the vote to women on these terms, shall be passed this Session.

THEN AND NOW.

Five-and-twenty years ago there was a woman suffrage movement. It had behind it a large number of the women of the country; it was supported by many influential men. It was not without vigour or interest, and it seemed likely, within a very short space of time, to be successful. And yet the opportunity went by; the move-

ment was damped down, and woman suffrage was not achieved.

That failure was due to the fact that though a franchise movement for women it was largely led and supported and financed by men. And so when opposition came it was broken and routed. It was represented to the men that other considerations claimed their prior interest, and that where there was a conflicting claim the women must be content to wait. And the women, who took their opinions from the men, and who were accustomed to be led by them, did not venture on revolt, but submitted to the inevitable.

The woman suffrage movement to-day is in far different case. Led and supported and financed by women for women it cannot be turned aside by representations of "prior interests." The women see clearly that for women to have any political interest on any subject until they have won the power to make that interest effective is to show ignorance of the first principles of political logic.

They know also that the franchise is not to be had for the asking, but that it has to be won, and that proof of numbers, of enthusiasm, of interest, will never convert any others than those who are willing and ready to be converted. They have realised that men politicians have to be compelled to grant the vote by finding it less unpleasant to give than to withhold, and that nothing will bring this about but revolt.

For this reason revolt is the definite and avowed policy of the Women's Social and Political Union. As a consequence of this revolt seven women are still in prison in Holloway Gaol, of whom two will be released on Saturday next, and five will suffer still a further month. As another consequence, women are found protesting at every meeting addressed by a Cabinet Minister to the chagrin of speakers like Mr. Lloyd George, who complain that their careful political utterances are misrepresented in consequence. And as yet another consequence, women are bringing about the defeat of all Government nominees at by-elections, in spite of the attempts of Liberal candidates like Mr. Warren to turn aside the shafts of the women by public professions of friendship, or even by personal and private appeal.

* * * * *

If there had been no opposition in 1885 woman suffrage might have been presented in that year as a gift by men to women; but it would have been of relatively small value, for women had not then learnt those qualities of self-reliance and *esprit de corps* which they are so fast acquiring in the conflict to-day.

The women of the Women's Social and Political Union are not afraid of opposition to-day, because they know that they can meet it and break it down. They are not surprised at the tactics of the enemy, because they have the political intelligence to understand the rules of the game and to appreciate the meaning of his moves. They are not bitter or angry with him, because they know that they have counter moves which will carry the war into his own quarter, and win for them the day.

They are glad of heart because of the enthusiasm in their ranks, because of the joy of the conflict, and because of the certainty of the victory.

F. W. Pethick Lawrence.

THE POWERLESSNESS OF THE PRIVATE MEMBER.

The members of the present Government made it clear at the outset that they are opposed to Woman Suffrage. Accordingly, the Women's Social and Political Union began an active campaign against them with the object of breaking down their resistance to the enfranchisement of women. In pursuance of this anti-Government policy, the Union offers vigorous opposition to all Liberal candidates at by-elections.

It frequently happens that Liberal candidates declare themselves to be warmly sympathetic to the claim for women's enfranchisement and eager to help the cause in Parliament. Notwithstanding these professions of friendship, the W.S.P.U. adheres to its policy of opposing all candidates who serve under the flag of the Government. The personal pledges of rank and file candidates are, so experience has taught, of no value. For years past the House of Commons has contained a majority of supporters of women's enfranchisement, but women are still voteless. The majority of the present House is pledged to it, yet the Government are, nevertheless, able to refuse facilities to the Women's Enfranchisement Bill. There is some cause for supposing that our friends in the House do not take their woman suffrage pledges very seriously, but that is not the main reason why those pledges do not lead to legislation. The true explanation of the matter is to be found in the fact that the rank and file member of the House of Commons is virtually powerless to initiate legislation.

Even if every one of his followers in the House of Commons were a suffragist that would not necessarily cause Mr. Asquith and his colleagues to withdraw their opposition to Votes for Women. The policy of the Government is not based upon the views and opinions of their Parliamentary supporters, who are almost as much under their leaders' orders as are the private soldiers in an army.

The Government, consisting of the leaders of the party in power, frame a programme which they think acceptable to the electors, and their Parliamentary supporters are elected on the distinct understanding that they will assist the Government in carrying it through.

Thus, when they seek election, they represent, for practical purposes, not themselves and their own views, but the Government and the Government's policy. The reforms, not being part of their leaders' programme, which they inscribe on their own election manifestos, are merely traps to catch the vote and support of the unwary. So well is the position understood, that the intelligent elector when he votes for a Liberal candidate does so because he endorses the policy of Mr. Asquith, while if he wants that policy altered, he votes against the Liberal candidate who is Mr. Asquith's nominee.

The following quotations from Mr. Sidney Low's book, "The Governance of England," will throw additional light on the matter:—

"The power to shape legislation is in practice confined to those members of the House who form the inner ring of

the Cabinet for the time being. . . . The House of Commons no longer controls the Executive; on the contrary, the Executive controls the House of Commons. . . . In our modern practice the Cabinet is scarcely ever turned out of office by Parliament, *whatever it does*.

"A member of Parliament is elected to vote for a particular Ministry or to vote against it; he is the delegate of his constituents. . . .

"They do not send him to Parliament to exercise his independence. They would be particularly annoyed and irritated if he did, and they scrutinise his votes with jealous care in order that they may take him to task very speedily, and with no superfluous delicacy or reserve, if he shows any dangerous tendency in that direction. And the modern M.P. understands the conditions of his political existence so well that in point of fact he hardly ever does vote against his party on any party issue when his own side is in office. . . .

"The [rank and file] Ministerialist is only in a limited sense a legislator; he has scarcely any power to make new laws, or to prevent them being made, or to amend old ones; he is not consulted on Bills which Ministers propose to introduce; he sees them only when they come from the printers, and then he knows that whether he likes them or not, he will be expected to support them by his vote in the Lobbies. . . .

"The real political sovereign and the arbiter of the destinies of Cabinets is the electoral body. . . . The power which determines the existence and extinction of Cabinets has shifted, first from the Crown to the Commons, and then from the Commons to the constituencies. . . .

"It is the constituencies which, in fact, decide on the combination of party leaders to whom they will from time to time delegate their authority, but their verdict is taken by what is virtually a process of duplicate election corresponding roughly to the method whereby a President of the United States is chosen. The Electoral Colleges of America have theoretically the right to select any person they please, but they are appointed on the understanding, never violated in practice, that they will cast their vote for the candidate nominated at the great party conventions. Similarly, the member of Parliament sent to the House of Commons by his constituents goes there under a pledge which is almost, though not quite, as binding, that he will cast his vote under all normal conditions during the life of the Parliament for the authorised leaders of his party."

All this makes it clear that suffragists who assist the return of a Liberal candidate are defeating their own end. Every Liberal member elected is a unit of fresh strength given to the Government, who will, in consequence, be able to withstand the enfranchisement of women more easily than before. In short, for a suffragist to help a supporter of the present Government into Parliament is to play her opponents' game. It is quite as misguided as it would be for a military commander to supply reinforcements to his enemy.

Though everything goes to show that the only effective election policy for suffragists is one of opposition to a Government which withholds the franchise from women,

the illusory hope dies hard that the Government, on becoming aware that the bulk of their followers are in favour of Votes for Women, will grant this reform. If the Government could be moved in this way woman suffrage would have been won before now, for the number of friendly Liberals in the House is already very great, but it is not in this way that the action of the Government will be influenced.

It is nothing to them that their followers are friendly to the cause of women's enfranchisement. If that friendship were to lead to a revolt of serious dimensions, then the case might be different. But a revolt of rank and file Ministerialists is very rare, and widespread revolt causing the defeat of the Government is rarer still. M.P.'s are, as we have seen, expected by those who elect them to support their party leaders in the House of Commons, and not to oppose them. To embarrass their leaders by an adverse vote is, generally speaking, "as much as their place is worth." Any member who does so may expect to be remonstrated with by those to whom he owes election, and he may even be called on to resign. In addition to pressure from his constituency he receives the rebuke of those in authority over him at Westminster. Again, the fact that by voting against his party he is contributing to its downfall and precipitating a general election is, on the grounds of personal as well as party convenience, an added reason for obedience to leaders.

But, it will be said, there have been occasions even in the lifetime of the present Parliament, when the Government have been obliged to modify their policy in consequence of representations made to them by their supporters in the House of Commons. That is true, and the Trades Disputes Bill affords a case in point. The Government at the General Election undertook to deal with the demand of the trade unions that their funds should be exempt from liability in suits for civil injuries, but did not commit themselves to any specific policy. Many of their followers, under pressure applied by the trade unionists in their respective constituencies, did, however, pledge themselves to proposals advanced by the trade union leaders. When the Government Bill was introduced it proved to be less generous in its scope than the measure to which the majority of Liberal members were pledged. Those members became restive, and the Government abandoned their own Bill and adopted that put forward by the trade unionists. It should be noticed that an even more important factor in this critical Parliamentary situation were the Labour Members, but, nevertheless, the protest of the Liberal members had its effect also.

It is of importance to Suffragists to know what led to this threatened revolt of Liberal members. The answer is that they feared a higher power than the Government itself. They feared their constituents. They knew that the electors were determined to have the Trades Disputes question settled on certain lines. Placed between two fires, they shunned the hottest. Knowing that the popularity of the Government was at stake, they determined to take every means of bringing the policy of the Government into line with the will of the electors, for if they failed to do so, they and their leaders would fall together at the ensuing election. For the sins of their leaders, the electors would make them suffer by defeat at the poll.

This gives us the key to the situation where woman suffrage is concerned. If we can make Liberals realise that they have no hope of election to Parliament unless the policy of their leaders is reformed, then only will they take this matter seriously, and then only will they be able to lay before Mr. Asquith the argument of political expediency, of which alone he will take heed.

Christabel Pankhurst.

LORD MORLEY ON POLITICAL REVOLT.

In view of the fact that the present Government seek to meet the women's agitation for political power by the use of repressive measures, instead of the removal of their grievance, the following extract from Lord Morley's Study of Burke, in the English Men of Letters series, is interesting, as exemplifying the wide divergence between principle and practice, which is only too characteristic of Liberal statesmen:—

"It is when he leaves the artifices of a cabal, and strikes down below the surface to the working of deep social forces that we feel the breadth and power of Burke's methods. 'I am not one of those,' he began, 'who think that the people are never wrong. They have been so frequently and outrageously. But I do say that in all disputes between them and their rulers, the presumption is at least upon a par in favour of the people.' Nay, experience, perhaps, justifies him in going further. When popular discontents are prevalent, something has been generally found amiss in the constitution or the administration.

"'The people' (read women) 'have no interest in disorder. When they go wrong it is their error, not their crime.' And then he quotes the famous passage from the memoirs of Sully, which practical politicians and political students should bind about their necks and write upon the tables of their hearts—'The revolutions that come to pass in great States are not the result of chance, nor of popular caprice. As for the populace, it is never from a passion of attack that it rebels, but from impatience of suffering.'"

TO AN IMPRISONED SUFFRAGETTE

(MISS EDITH NEW.)

Brave little sister! you who boldly dared
To strike a blow that women might be free,
Knowing full well that nothing would be spared
Of punishment which "Justice" might decree.

Yet understanding fully all it meant,
All that the cruel hand of law could do,
With one firm friend, all but unarmed you went,
To battle for the cause we hold as true.

Magna est veritas! and will prevail!
But still the lesson's taught us by the years
Without the martyrs, nothing can avail,
Redemption must be bought with blood and tears.

Courage, brave heart! Emboldened by your deed
We haste to join you in your clarion call.
"Oh, Tyranny enthroned, no more we plead
Give us our rights, lest worse to you befall!"

M. M. S.

The *Daily News* thinks that the modern man feels a sort of resentment against women because they can go to gaol with more fortitude than he himself can muster up when going to get a tooth stopped. "Indeed, the Suffragist campaign is creating a revolution in at least one direction. It is exploding once and for all the man-made superstition that courage is the special possession of the male sex."

PROGRESS OF WOMEN.

Women Factory Workers in Germany.

The problem of infant mortality is a serious one in other countries as well as our own. We hear that the Prussian Minister of the Interior has issued instructions to the local authorities of the Berlin suburbs that in every factory where women are employed a room shall be set apart for their children. In two suburbs, Schöneberg and Weissensee, these instructions have at once been acted upon. Manufacturers have been requested to put at the disposition of the mothers a room wherein they may be with their children during the intervals of rest; all costs of supervision by a physician and, in the case of larger factories, by a specially-engaged nurse, to be borne by the local authority. The movement for the protection of infants has the strong support of the Empress.

As long as existing economic conditions require that mothers of little children should work in factories, some such provision seems likely to prove useful in its object.

Women Golfers.

Three women entered for an open amateur golf tournament managed by the Carlisle and Silloth Club recently. This is a distinct advance, as it is not long since women players were "taken round" the links by men friends as an act of grace. It is Mr. Asquith who is credited with saying, about two years ago, that the lady on the links was treated first with derision, then with toleration, but that she now was welcomed, and anyone who knows St. Andrews can vouch for the truth of the first statement at any rate.

Another Swimming Triumph.

Although not so striking a performance as that of Miss Lily Smith, the record of Miss Inez Armstrong, who won a gold medal and a challenge cup by swimming from Sunbury Lock to Twickenham (9 miles), is a good one. Miss Armstrong was six hours in the water, and only gave up because she had easily outdistanced the other competitors, four of whom were women and five men. All are members of the Kingston Cygnet Club, and the competition included swimming through the locks.

Plucky Rescues.

Among the awards by the Royal Humane Society for acts of gallantry in Lancashire is a testimonial to Mrs. E. Bovill, Preston-street, Barrow, for her rescue of two children who were surrounded by the incoming tide in the Walney Channel at Barrow, on June 22. Florence Leech, a girl of 12, who jumped into the Irwell the other night from a stone embankment 8 feet high, to rescue a little girl of three who was drowning, acted in a particularly courageous way, as the water almost reached to her neck. She was successful in saving the child.

The Woman Movement in Turkey.

Readers of Pierre Loti will not need to be reminded that among Moslem women of to-day there is a standard of culture and a knowledge of the world's political events equalling anything among women of the West, and they will not be surprised that the aspirations towards freedom, so sadly unrealised by the French author's women friends, have at last found partial expression. Turkish women, it appears, have been in the employ of the Young Turk party in work which, if not impossible for men, would, at least, have been very difficult of safe accomplishment, and it is significant of the change which seems to be colouring Eastern views about women, that when in Salonika a lady of distinction, the wife of a young Turk officer, appeared in the streets unveiled and carrying a banner on the day that the Constitution was proclaimed, far from meeting with criticism, she was applauded, and her husband's comrades publicly kissed her hands.

The special correspondent of the *Daily Express*, who has had an interview with several of the women, says:—

In Monastir they are not quite so far advanced, but I have had the satisfaction of being received in the harem of Kesim Pasha, a rich merchant and Young Turk adherent. He introduced me to his wife, Belkiss Hanum, and to his sisters, Farrah Hanum and Manaar Hanum. They were not veiled, wore European dress, and had all the charm of high-bred, cultured women. They spoke French, and Belkiss Hanum conversed with ease on the political questions of the day.

All had helped in the conspiracy, or, as they called it, "preliminary work," for the realisation of the present state of things. Many women, they told me, had travelled to and from different centres with important communications. As couriers they were more useful than men, being immune from molestation.

In order to parry spies in their dwellings, several ladies in Monastir had of late years dispensed with servants, performing menial duties themselves. Again, some ladies dressed in black, to put on white for the first time when the Constitution was proclaimed.

"There has been no woman spy among us," said Belkiss Hanum. When I asked if their own emancipation was part of the movement, an energetic "Yok, yok, yok!" (No) came from all three. They would prosecute no claim for the moment, but the freedom of one sex would necessarily entail that of the other.

The Koran does not prescribe seclusion for women. It arose rather from custom than religion.

These daughters of the Prophet, entertaining a foreigner for the first time, had the most perfect self-possession of any ladies I ever met. Their quiet dignity and slow, graceful gestures were exquisite. I can think of nothing more fascinating than these women, combining the intellectuality of the West with the charm of Eastern reserve. In appearance their dull white complexion startles at first, but it undoubtedly throws out the clear lustrous of their eyes and hair, which is marvellous.

The same journal thinks that women intelligent enough to recognise the evils of absolutism and the benefits of representative government, will not be content to continue to accept for themselves a life of entire passivity.

"Mr. Chairman."

It was made matter for comment as "a pleasing incident" in many of the daily papers, that a woman took her place as Chairman of the Brentford Guardians last week. Miss Ellis, who was one of the first lady guardians elected under the Local Government Act of 1894, was presented by the clerk with a pair of white gloves in commemoration of the unique event, and he reminded the Board that she was probably the only woman in England that afternoon occupying a similar position, while it was suggested by a Guardian that a record of the incident should be sent to the Prime Minister. Miss Ellis, who was addressed as "Mr. Chairman," was chosen as vice-chairman last April. The obvious pride of the Guardians in having a woman as chairman is a sign of the change in public opinion which is taking place throughout the country.

Lady Climber's Record.

A woman—Miss Annie Peck—has just gained a world's record in climbing, by ascending Mount Huascaran, a height of 25,000 ft. The summit of this formidable mountain has never before been reached, though on a previous occasion Miss Peck succeeded in scaling it to a height of 19,000 ft., thus establishing a record. Miss Peck was also the first woman to ascend Mount Orizaba.



ELIZABETH.

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SUFFRAGETTES AT BOULTER'S LOCK.

Noticing the crowds of holiday-makers who assemble on the river any fine Sunday in August, three ladies living at Maidenhead decided to take some steps towards organising a meeting for the purpose of rousing interest in votes for women.

After consultation with the local police, who advised concerning the best position, a punt was moored just below Boulter's Lock at twelve o'clock on Sunday morning. Interest was quickly aroused among the spectators by the hoisting on boathooks of a purple, white, and green poster announcing the meeting, which was at once begun. The chair was taken by Mrs. Higgins, and the speakers, Miss Jessie Kenney and Miss Louise Higgins, were listened to with attention and interest by a large crowd of people in boats, launches, and on the banks.

I should like to clear away the impression created by some of the newspaper reports, and to say at once that no disturbing element was introduced, unless the case of one young man who came provided with a dinner-gong, with the evident intention of winning distinction for himself by a performance thereon, is worth mentioning. In view of the respectful and sympathetic attention of the people present, his courage evidently failed him, and nothing was heard except one faint and scarcely audible tinkle until the close of Miss Kenney's address, which was loudly applauded, and then our friend's gong formed an effective addition to the enthusiastic ovation accorded to the speaker!

There were no bells rung, and if there was "banter and chaff," it was, at least, not uttered in tones sufficiently loud to reach the ears of the ladies in the Suffragettes' punt.

Miss Higgins, at the close of her remarks, asked for questions from the opposition, and as there were none forthcoming, she said: "I take it, then, you are all converted," to which the answer came of, "Yes, we are," from all sides.

Several interested listeners were introduced to the speakers, and asked many questions, especially of Miss Kenney, concerning her prison experiences. Lord Desborough was among those interested in the meeting, and asked for the names of the speakers.

In the afternoon Miss Higgins addressed another large meeting at Cookham, where an animated discussion afforded an opportunity of answering many questions.

W. H.

VICTORIAN SUFFRAGETTES.

The following letter has been sent to Mrs. Pankhurst by Miss Vida Goldstein, president of the Women's Political Association of Victoria, and has been handed to us for publication:—

DEAR MRS. PANKHURST,—We have the sincerest admiration for the daring and resource your Union shows in directing the new suffrage forces so successfully enrolled under its banner. I am sorry we were not holding a meeting about the time of your Hyde Park demonstration. We would have passed a resolution about that! We have the honour of being called the "Victorian Suffragettes," and you will be pleased to know that everything "dreadful" you do helps us along tremendously by directing public attention more forcibly to the fact that we are in a similar position to yourselves. Some of our authorities live in daily dread of our breaking out too, but it now seems likely that we shall not be compelled to resort to anything of a very militant character, as the electors are apparently coming to our aid. They are forming a "Men's League for Woman Suffrage," and as we need only two votes in the Upper House to carry our Bill, the men should be able to secure them without much trouble.

With the most cordial appreciation of the magnificent work you, Mrs. Lawrence, your daughter, Miss Kenney, and your brave colleagues have done, and are doing, for women,

I am, yours very sincerely,

VIDA GOLDSTEIN.

Melbourne.

Copy of resolution enclosed:—

That this committee rejoices in the latest evidence of the success of the militant tactics of the English suffragists, viz., Mr. Asquith's promise that the Government will not oppose a woman suffrage amendment to the Electoral Reform Bill, and, mindful of how the women suffragists of Victoria have been side-tracked by their professed friends in Parliament, the committee congratulates the

Women's Social and Political Union on not being misled by the clever move of the Prime Minister, and on adhering to their militant policy until the Government gives a distinct pledge that it will include woman suffrage in the Government programme.

"A SMALL CIVIL WAR."

The following appeared in the Sydney Bulletin of July 7:—

The woman suffrage movement in England begins to amount to a small civil war. There isn't much bloodshed, for there is a natural objection to calling out the military to charge the free and enlightened female of England; but there is an awful lot of trouble. The suffragettes, in a mild sort of way, storm Parliament House, and demand the right to vote for Samuel Slumkey, M.P. They are ordered out, and a quantity of them are arrested for refusing to go. They call on the Prime Minister, and ask to see him. He says he won't see anybody, and in the subsequent excitement his windows are smashed, and another heap of women are arrested. When the demonstration is over, there are quite a multitude of women brought up before "his Washup," at the police court. They are fairly respectful to "his Washup," but they refuse to pay the fines, and go to gaol for the purpose of "taking it out." The gaols begin to get rather crowded. The ladies are fairly amenable to discipline in prison, but if any serious attempt were made to make prison so uncomfortable to them that they wouldn't dare to come back, they seem quite capable of organising a "hunger strike" on the Russian model, and that would make a sensation that would probably sweep the Government out of existence.

It is ill-feeling that makes a Ministry lose its job. So the Government is in a difficult position, and if the woman suffragists keep going with their present energy, they must win in the end.

A SUFFRAGE SONG.

(Tune: "The Vicar of Bray.")

When Good Queen Bess was on the throne
Three hundred years ago, sir,
For forty years she reigned alone,
As everyone must know, sir,
She laboured for her country's sake,
And no one questioned then, sir,
The right of England's Queen to make
The laws of England's men, sir.

Chorus: But this is true, they will maintain,
As true as holy writ, sir—
That whatsoever woman may do,
To vote she is not fit, sir.

But still to-day the tale goes on
Just as in days gone by, sir;
Although three hundred years are gone,
You still may hear the cry, sir,
That though to work in every sphere
With hand and brain and heart, sir,
Is woman's place, in Government
She may not take a part, sir.

Chorus.

For though with years that slowly pass
Has liberty grown wider,
Woman imprisoned yet remains,
Her freedom still denied her.
But surely those who everywhere
Can aid their country's cause, sir,
Are able, too, to take a part
In framing England's laws, sir.

That this is truth we dare to say,
And may the day come soon, sir,
When those who shall the piper pay
Shall also call the tune, sir.

—The Woman's Journal (Boston).

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WEST OF ENGLAND CAMPAIGN.

Shop and Committee Room: 33, Queen Road (opposite Art Gallery), Clifton. Open from 10 a.m. to 7 p.m.

"Hope smiles from the threshold of the years to come."

Those lines have been ringing in my ears all day. I suppose it is because we have a great hope in the future, and we know we are helping to build up an advanced state of society, that we workers are so happy and so full of life and hope in our great movement.

Bristol as a city is changed towards the woman's movement. Men and women are being drawn in at every meeting to see the justice of our claim and the righteousness of our cause. On Monday we held an "At Home." The room was crowded; Miss Adela Pankhurst, Miss Williamson, and myself addressed the meeting. Many gave in their names and addresses as stewards for the 19th of September, and almost everyone went away provided with bills to distribute or a collecting card, or some other work to do. The collection and sale of literature was very satisfactory. On Tuesday we held a dinner-hour meeting in the Horse Fair, when at least 400 people were present. In the evening we went to Brislington, and on Wednesday we held our afternoon meeting. Many questions were put, and the air was cleared of much misunderstanding. On Wednesday night we went to Victoria Park, where about 300 children were waiting for us. As there were four of us, we decided that two should take the meeting for the adults, and Miss Browne and Miss Middleton, who are teachers, should hold a meeting for the children, whose numbers were still increasing. With a little persuasion the hundreds of little ones marched away, and our meeting was a great success.

I do not think I ever addressed a more sympathetic or a kinder audience. They saw the points, and approved; they laughed with us at the failings of Cabinet Ministers! How much better it is for an audience to laugh *with* you than against you! They were certainly very human.

Miss Vachell, one of the best social workers in Bristol, arranged a meeting of the Guild of Brave Poor Things for Thursday, at which I spoke. We made great friends. Afterwards we had a small gathering of friends at the house of one of our members, Mrs. Rogers. Her husband is the joint secretary for the men's League, who are going to help us on the 19th.

In the evening, at our usual meeting place, the Downs, we found a big audience already waiting for us. Every week we have a most sympathetic audience, but a small band of hooligans give as much trouble as they can. Their noisy and unintelligent opposition makes one feel sad, but it also makes one ready for the fray, and determined to do one's best to clear away such ignorance.

On Friday night was held the first "At Home" for teachers, nurses, and other workers, and on Saturday a garden party was given by Colonel and Mrs. Blathwayt. It was a glorious day, and about 230 people came from Bath, Bristol, Box, Bradford-on-Avon, Corsham, Freshford, Saltford, Bathford, and Bathampton. Miss Blathwayt took the chair, and among the guests were the Hon. Mrs. Whittuck, the Hon. Mrs. Paley, Dr. Mary Morris, M.B., Dr. Beddoe, Mrs. Harcourt Skrine, Mr. Pinckney, Miss Story Maskelyne, Miss von Donop, and the Rev. W. White, while several friends of Mrs. Ashworth Hallett came from Claverton Lodge.

Miss Adela Pankhurst spoke about the tactics of the Suffragettes, Miss Dorothy Pethick told them what it meant to those people who were doing social work, and Miss Williamson spoke about the teachers. I told them about the working women, and what we wanted to do in the West of England. We got some new members, and many volunteered to help on the 19th. Each one was presented with a copy of VOTES FOR WOMEN by Colonel and Mrs. Blathwayt, good friends of the movement.

Miss Floyd, one of our workers, has given away 60 copies of the paper to women in the poor part of Bristol; others are going to send some to the guilds, and some are being sent to the hospitals.

I should like to remind West of England readers that I want money! The band has still to be paid for. I also want £8 for the Victoria Rooms, and £50 for Colston Hall. Organising is so easy when the money comes in, but when the burden of unpaid bills is heavy I do not like the West of England

work to be paid for out of the general funds. The necessary money ought to be raised locally. This week I have sent to the treasurer £1 from Miss Von Donlop, £2 from Miss Floyd, £1 1s. from Mrs. Jarvis, 5s. from Miss Waller, and £2 9s. being collected at meetings. There is printing for the "At Homes" to be paid for, and every night money has to be spent on platforms, besides scores of other things. Two teachers who are helping me, one from Bath and one from the North, have spent all their holiday money on the movement. They are invaluable to me as speakers and workers, and they are free for another two weeks, so I want money to pay their out-of-pocket expenses. Knowing that I shall get financial help, I have asked them to stay with me.

"At Home" cards for September 21 at the Victoria Rooms, when Mrs. Pankhurst will speak, are now ready, and can be had from me at 78, Alma-road, Clifton, Bristol.

The tickets for Colston Hall will be sold on that day, 5s., 2s. 6d., and 1s. 6d.

Will anyone who can help me the first two weeks in September please write to me as early as possible, so that I may take rooms for them. I can promise workers a good time. It is a pleasure to work amongst Bristol people, who seem quite won over to our cause.

In the evening, when meetings are over, we sometimes go on the river, where everybody, recognising the colours, greets us in the most friendly way.

ANNIE KENNEY.

YORKSHIRE CAMPAIGN.

AT HOMES—61, Manningham-lane, Bradford, every Monday, at 8 p.m.; Huddersfield, Northumberland Street Schools, every Tuesday at 8 p.m.; Leeds, Arts Club, Woodhouse-lane, every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

BRADFORD.

The office having been closed for two weeks, our next "At Home" will be held on August 17.

The St. George's Hall has been taken for October 26, when Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Christabel Pankhurst will be the speakers. Will all friends and sympathisers kindly communicate with me at 61, Manningham-lane, if they can help us with this meeting?

LEEDS.

We resumed our "At Homes" on Wednesday last, and have arranged to hold meetings in Brunswick Ward, Leeds. Roundley-road, Leeds, Beeston, and Wortley, Leeds. We have provisionally chosen December 15 as the date of our Leeds Demonstration in the Coliseum. Will all friends kindly note this, and call at one of the "At Homes," or write to me at the Arts Club for work or information?

HUDDERSFIELD.

A great demonstration is to be held on September 27. We are hoping to assemble at least 50,000. We want to raise money to pay for two good bands, and for the printing and advertising. Yorkshire supporters all over the country are asked to help in making this a success. We have made the Yorkshire Liberal party tremble by our Leeds and Bradford demonstrations. Huddersfield must do just as well.

An "At Home" will be held in Huddersfield on September 28; full particulars of this will be announced later.

The "At Homes" in Northumberland-street Schools every Tuesday at 8 p.m. are a new feature in our Huddersfield work that we hope will be attended with success.

ADELA PANKHURST.

ROSSENDALE VALLEY CAMPAIGN.

After a pleasant holiday, Miss Brook and I have resumed work in the Rossendale Valley to prepare for our demonstration on Sunday, September 6. On Thursday last we held a meeting on Blackpool sands, where we found orators of all sorts, including Tariff Reformers, brewers, Free Traders, temperance advocates, and the Bishop of Manchester, who has been holding a mission. Every speaker was asked, "Do you believe in votes for women?" and in nearly every case an answer was given.

A section of the crowd behaved in a very rough way, throwing wet sand and threatening to overturn our platform. I am

afraid one of the men who came to our rescue was injured. It is said that about 8,000 to 10,000 people were present, but only a few took part in the disturbance. The occurrence has, at any rate, made people realise what we have to go through in our campaign, and as Miss Brook told an interviewer, "we do not do this for mere fun." Another result is that Votes for Women must have been discussed in every house in Blackpool and the neighbourhood, and we ourselves took part in discussions on the vessels plying to the Isle of Man, Fleetwood, and other places.

There are many things in Blackpool which make one realise the need for women's political enfranchisement, and among these I should like to mention the hours worked by the servant girls during the season. Many of them are at work from 5 a.m. until midnight, for a wage of 2s. 6d. or 3s. per week.

JENNIE BAINES.

LOCAL NOTES.

Barnes W.S.P.U.—A large meeting was held on the Green on Wednesday, August 12, when Miss Higgins spoke. The chair was taken by Mr. Stevens, who called attention to the fact that the time for ridicule being past, the question of votes for women had entered the domain of serious political questions. Miss Higgins explained the window-breaking episode to a sympathetic audience, and answered a number of questions at the end of the meeting. Miss Auld is our speaker for August 19, and we are looking forward to Mrs. Drummond on September 2.

ALICIA ROSE.

Coventry W.S.P.U.—A reception was held at St. Peter's Vicarage, on the 11th inst. to welcome Miss Alice Lea, joint-secretary, after her month's imprisonment in Holloway. The Rev. G. T. Widdrington, who presided, said that unless the vote was granted the present agitation would not be stemmed, and he hoped there would steadily go up to Holloway or any other prison the quota of martyrs from Coventry for "this real living cause, which means so much for the future of England." Mr. C. Smythe, M.A., of Bradford College, gave a sympathetic address on "The Militant Tactics of the Suffragettes." Miss Lea said she did not regret her month in Holloway. She was not at all a penitent prisoner; she went because it seemed to her the best way in which she could help the movement.

Forest Gate and Wanstead W.S.P.U.—We are going on well. Our membership numbers about 70, with several good speakers. We held a meeting for workers at the end of the month, at Earls Hall, at which we mapped out the work for the autumn. Miss Bishop has promised to do the secretarial work at Ilford. A number of names have been handed to her, and a new local union will start the first Monday in September, Mrs. Bull kindly lending a room for committee meetings, &c. Miss Hewitt will take charge of a cycle group for the purpose of holding meetings in Essex. Miss Froud will be busy getting a list of speakers and fixing up meetings. Miss McGoven will sell VOTES FOR WOMEN, Miss Fergusson will take charge of advertising meetings, chalking, &c. Several friends have offered rooms for committee meetings. I made a point of asking friends for a collection to pay for the hall that night. The money was found by the Forest Gate and Ilford people.

MINNIE BALDOCK.

Lewisham W.S.P.U.—A noteworthy feature of our Sunday meetings on Blackheath is the increasing number of women in the audience. The middle-class woman, with a comfortable home, the shop assistant, and the working woman and girl, all seem to be equally anxious to listen to our speeches, and to learn more about our movement. Miss Winifred Auld, who has become quite a favourite with our Lewisham audiences, made some excellent points by comparing the so-called arguments of the anti-Suffragists with our arguments in favour of woman's franchise. Miss Auld sold 24 VOTES FOR WOMEN from the platform, and in the crowd

after the meeting, and we could have sold more if we had had them. Miss Billingham has gone for a holiday to Westcliff, where she intends doing propaganda work, and selling literature. She will be back here to welcome Miss New on Saturday, and on Sunday next on Blackheath.

J. A. BOUVIER.

Manchester W.S.P.U.—Although many of our members are still holiday making, we have managed to hold five meetings during the past week. On Thursday Dr. Fairfield (a new member), Miss Rose, and Miss Capper held a very satisfactory meeting at the new pitch in Longsight. The same evening Mrs. Chatterton, Mrs. Morris and myself held the usual weekly meeting in Stevenson-square. Mrs. Morris and Miss Capper also held a meeting in Old Trafford.

Monday evening was very wet, but a large crowd had gathered in Seedley. Mrs. Morris, Dr. Fairfield, and Miss Rose defied the weather, and held a most successful meeting. On Wednesday, Dr. Fairfield and myself held a meeting on Marshall's Croft. Owing to some unforeseen circumstance the lorry failed to put in an appearance, but nothing daunted, Dr. Fairfield borrowed a step-ladder from a neighbouring shop, and from her lofty and none-too-safe platform, delivered a telling speech. Question-time took over an hour. Returning to Manchester after my six weeks' absence, I am much impressed by the increased enthusiasm amongst the Manchester people. To me it seems largely the fruit of the Heaton Park campaign, which culminated in the great Demonstration.

FLORENCE CLARKSON.

Stapleford and Long Eaton W.S.P.U.—Some members here are determined to carry on the work started by the Nottingham Demonstration. With this object they are holding weekly meetings in the villages near. Last week Bramcote was visited, and a good meeting held. Miss Daisy Bullock, Miss M. Dalley, and Miss L. Dalley spoke. The people were very friendly, and asked the speakers to come again; they were also asked if they would visit a village near by and hold a meeting. Some girls who work in the Nottingham factories were very much interested. This week a meeting was held at Stanton, the most pleasing feature of which was the evident interest and appreciation shown by a group of mothers who came to the meeting with their babies and their other children.

L. C. DALLEY.

Streatham W.S.P.U.—A meeting of members of the N.W.S.P.U. was held at Miss Willson's house, Limatburg, 34, Ambleside-avenue, Streatham, on Saturday, August 15, to discuss the formation of a Streatham local Union. The members formed themselves into a committee, with power to add to their number. Miss A. E. Willson was appointed hon. treasurer, Miss N. E. Smith, 87A, Streatham-hill, S.W., hon. secretary, and Miss Margaret Smith literature secretary. It is believed that there is a good opening in this neighbourhood and the adjoining ones of Balham and Croydon for forming a useful and hard-working branch. The committee hope to hold the first general meeting in October, when all sympathisers, as well as their non-sympathetic friends, will be most heartily welcome. The secretary of this branch will be pleased to receive letters from inquirers, and to give full particulars to those desirous of joining or wishing for more information.

NELLIE E. SMITH, Hon. Sec.

87A, Streatham-hill, S.W.

Birmingham Trades' Council and Suffrage Prisoners.

The question of the treatment of the women suffrage prisoners was brought before the Birmingham Trades' Council last week, who, after some discussion, entered a protest against the treatment of the women who are imprisoned for acts committed during their political struggle for enfranchisement, and called on the Government to deal with them under the category of political prisoners. The resolution was carried with two dissentients.

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PROGRAMME OF EVENTS.

Up to September 5 (as far as at present arranged).

Aug. 20	Clifton, Durdham Downs, Black-boy Hill	Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Dorothy Pethick, Miss Clara Codd, Miss Millicent Browne, Miss Middleton, Miss Dallas	7.30 p.m.
	Lancashire, Stubbins	Mrs. Baines	7.30 p.m.
	Huddersfield, Lockwood Bar	Miss Adela Pankhurst	7.30 p.m.
Fri. 21	Bristol, Broad Quay, Tramway Centre	Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Lillian Williamson, B.A., Miss Clara Codd	7.30 p.m.
	Liverpool, Wellington Column	Miss Marks, Miss Broughton	8 p.m.
	Clifton, Hannah More Hall, "At Home"		8-9.30
	Lancashire, Ewood Bridge	Mrs. Baines, Miss Brook	7.30 p.m.
Sat. 22	Holloway	Release of Prisoners	8 a.m.
	Queen's Hall, Langham Place, W.	Complimentary Breakfast (Tickets 2s.)	9.15 a.m.
	Weston-super-Mare	Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Dorothy Pethick, Miss Millicent Browne	3.30 p.m.
	Weston-super-Mare Sands	Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Dorothy Pethick, Miss Millicent Browne	7.30 p.m.
Sun. 23	London, Parliament Hill Fields, Hampstead	Miss Winifred Auld, and others	6 p.m.
Mon. 24	Clifton, Hannah More Hall, "At Home"	Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Millicent Browne	4-6.30
	Lancashire, Rawtenstall	Mrs. Baines, Miss Brook	7.30 p.m.
	Bradford, Gr. Manningham-lane, "At Home"	Miss Adela Pankhurst	8 p.m.
Tues. 25	Bristol, Horse Fair, Dinner Hour Meeting	Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Millicent Browne	1.30 p.m.
	Liverpool, Picton Clock	Mrs. Murphy, Mrs. Forsop	8 p.m.
	Lancashire, Haslingden	Mrs. Baines, Miss Brook	7.30 p.m.
	Huddersfield, "At Home"	Miss Adela Pankhurst	8 p.m.
Wed. 26	Northumberland-st. Schools		
	Bristol, Eastville Park	Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Lillian Williamson, B.A.	7.30 p.m.
	Lancashire, Bury	Mrs. Baines, Miss Brook	7.30 p.m.
	Clifton, Durdham Downs	Miss Annie Kenney, and others	3.30 p.m.
	Barnes Green	Mrs. Cullen	7 p.m.
	Leeds, Arts Club, Woodhouse-lane	Miss Adela Pankhurst	8 p.m.
Thur. 27	Clifton, Durdham Downs, Black-boy Hill	Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Dorothy Pethick, Miss Clara Codd	7.30 p.m.
	Lancashire, Accrington	Mrs. Baines, and others	7.30 p.m.
Fri. 28	Bristol, Broad Quay, Tramway Centre	Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Lillian Williamson, B.A.	7.30 p.m.
	Clifton, Hannah More Hall, "At Home"		7.30 p.m.
	Liverpool, Wellington Column (close of Summer Campaign)	Mrs. Hillier, Mrs. Morrissey, and others	8 p.m.
	Lancashire, Haxenden	Mrs. Baines, and others	7.30 p.m.
Sat. 29	Yatton	Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Millicent Browne, and others	7.30 p.m.
Mon. 31	Clifton, Hannah More Hall, "At Home"	Miss Annie Kenney, and others	3.30 p.m.
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Sept. 1	Bristol, Horse Fair, Dinner Hour Meeting	Miss Annie Kenney, and others	1.30 p.m.
	Bristol, Portland Square, Dinner Hour Meeting		1.30 p.m.
	Huddersfield, "At Home"	Miss Adela Pankhurst	
	Northumberland-st. Schools		
Wed. 2	Clifton, Durdham Downs	Miss Annie Kenney and others	3.30 p.m.
	Bristol, Westbury	Miss Annie Kenney, and others	7.30 p.m.
	Barnes Green	Mrs. Drummond	7 p.m.
Thur. 3	Clifton, Durdham Downs, Blackboy Hill	Miss Annie Kenney, and others	7.30 p.m.
	Portman Rooms, "At Home"	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	8-10
Fri. 4	Clifton, Hannah More Hall, "At Home"	Miss Annie Kenney, and others	7.30 p.m.
	Bristol, Broad Quay		7.30 p.m.
Sat. 5	Burnham	Miss Annie Kenney, and others	7.30 p.m.

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Rawtenstall (Demonstration)	Sept. 6
Release of Prisoners, Holloway, 8 a.m.	Sept. 16
Complimentary Breakfast, Queen's Hall, 9.15 a.m.	Sept. 16
Reception of Released Prisoners, Large Portman Rooms, 8-10.	Sept. 17
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London, Albert Hall (Meeting)	Oct. 29

Mr. Lloyd George Explains Further.

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Anty Drudge—"The best definition is Fels-Naptha, Willie. It can do anything it is possible for soap to do. And does it better and in half the time. Washes clothes without boiling or scrubbing; takes out stains or grease spots without damage to anything; washes dishes, cleans the kitchen, brightens oil-cloths, painted wood, etc."

Suppose you divide your wash next wash-day. Do half of it with ordinary laundry soap in the old-fashioned, wash-boiler, hard-rubbing way; and the other half with Fels-Naptha soap in the easy Fels-Naptha way, and you find that

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Why not let Fels-Naptha do it?

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will do it. Isn't it worth trying?

PROGRAMME OF EVENTS.

Up to September 5 (as far as at present arranged).

Aug. 20	Clifton, Durdham Downs, Blackboy Hill	Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Dorothy Pethick, Miss Clara Codd, Miss Millicent Browne, Miss Middleton, Miss Dallas	7.30 p.m.
	Lancashire, Stubbins	Mrs. Baines	7.30 p.m.
	Huddersfield, Lockwood Bar	Miss Adela Pankhurst	7.30 p.m.
Fri. 21	Bristol, Broad Quay, Tramway Centre	Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Lillian Williamson, B.A., Miss Clara Codd	7.30 p.m.
	Liverpool, Wellington Column	Miss Marks, Miss Broughton	8 p.m.
	Clifton, Hannah More Hall, "At Home"		8-9.30
	Lancashire, Bwwood Bridge	Mrs. Baines, Miss Brook	7.30 p.m.
Sat. 22	Holloway	Release of Prisoners	8 a.m.
	Queen's Hall, Langham Place, W.	Complimentary Breakfast (Tickets 2s.)	9.15 a.m.
	Weston-super-Mare	Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Dorothy Pethick, Miss Millicent Browne	3.30 p.m.
	Weston-super-Mare Sands	Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Dorothy Pethick, Miss Millicent Browne	7.30 p.m.
Sun. 23	London, Parliament Hill Fields, Hampstead	Miss Winifred Auld, and others	6 p.m.
Mon. 24	Clifton, Hannah More Hall, "At Home"	Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Millicent Browne	4-6.30
	Lancashire, Rawtenstall	Mrs. Baines, Miss Brook	7.30 p.m.
	Bradford, 61, Manningham-lane, "At Home"	Miss Adela Pankhurst	8 p.m.
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